

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 MOSCOW 08434 171727Z

46

ACTION EUR-08

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1324

INFO USMISSION GENEVA

AMCONSUL LENINGRAD

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USMISSION NATO

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C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 8434

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, PARM, UR,UK

SUBJECT: GROMYKO ON BREZHNEV WEAPONS BAN PROPOSAL

GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

1. SUMMARY. GROMYKO HAS INDICATED TO THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR THAT BREZHNEV'S REFERENCE TO WEAPONS "MORE TERRIBLE THAN ATOMIC" IN HIS JUNE 13 SPEECH WAS INTENDED TO INCLUDE NOT ONLY ENMOD AND NEW NUCLEAR WEAPONS SYSTEMS, BUT ALSO "GENIE IN THE BOTTLE" SYSTEMS WHICH BREZHNEV FEARS SCIENCE CAN NOW DEVELOP. GROMYKO ALSO INDICATED DISPLEASURE OVER THE UK POSITION ON CBM'S AT CSCE. END SUMMARY.

2.UK HEAD OF CHANCERY MALLABY HAS BRIEFED US ON CALL BY GARVEY, THE UK AMBASSADOR, ON BROMYKO ON JUNE 16. HE CHARACTERIZED THE CALL AS A GENERAL EXCHANGE ON VIEWS, AT GARVEY'S REQUEST, BEFORE GARVEY'S DEPARTURE ON LEAVE  
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PAGE 02 MOSCOW 08434 171727Z

TO THE UK. THREE TOPICS WERE DISCUSSED: DISARMAMENT, CSCE, AND BILATERAL RELATIONS.

3. GARVEY ASKED GROMYKO WHAT BREZHNEV HAD MEANT BY HIS REFERENCE TO TERROR WEAPONS IN HIS JUNE 13 SPEECH. GROMYKO HAD NO READY REPLY, BUT AFTER SOME CIRCUMLOCUTION INDICATED THAT THE PROPOSAL WAS INTENDED TO PROHIBIT THE DEVELOPMENT OF COMPLETELY NEW SYSTEMS, A FEAT WHICH BREZHNEV FEARS SCIENCE COULD NOW ACCOMPLISH. ALSO, GROMYKO CONTINUED, THE PROPOSAL WAS INTENDED TO INCLUDE A BAN ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEW NUCLEAR SYSTEMS. GARVEY ASKED IF ENMOD WAS TO BE INCLUDED. GROMYKO SAID THAT IT WOULD BE, THROUGH IT SHOULD NOT BE UNDERSTOOD AS BEING LIMITED TO ENMOD ONLY. COMMENT: OUR UK EMBASSY SOURCE INDICATED THAT THE BRITISH ARE INTERPRETING BREZHNEV'S PROPOSAL TO BE FOR A SINGLE AGREEMENT, WHICH, CATCH-ALL MANNER, WOULD INCLUDE TOTALLY NEW SYSTEMS, NEW NUCLEAR SYSTEMS, AND ENMOD ALL IN ONE BLANKET CONVENTION. WE FIND THIS UNLIKELY. IT APPEARS TO US, JUDGING BY GROMYKO'S HESITATION AND THE GENERAL AIR OF MYSTIFICATION WHICH HAS SURROUNDED THE PROPOSAL FROM THE OUTSET, THAT PERHAPS EVEN THE HIGHER LEVELS OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT DO NOT HAVE CLEAR FORMULATION IN MIND. HOWEVER, SOME CONCRETE PROPOSAL WILL PROBABLY EVENTUALLY EMERGE. WE DOUBT THAT IT WILL INCLUDE ENMOD, BUT IT CONCEIVABLY COULD INCLUDE NEW NUCLEAR AND OTHER TYPES OF SYSTEMS. END COMMENT.

4.DURING GARVEY'S CALL GROMYKO LAUNCHED INTO A BITTER ATTACK ON THE UK CSCE DELEGATION POSITION ON CBM'S. GROMYKO SAID THE "FEBRUARY ATTITUDE" (REFERRING TO WILSON'S VISIT IN MOSCOW IN FEBRUARY) HAD BEEN COMPLETELY DROPPED BY THE UK AT CSCE. GARVEY DENIED THAT THE UK WAS BEING PARTICULARLY DIFFICULT, AND EMPHASIZED ITS ROLE IN REACHING RECENT COMPROMISES ON THE CBM ISSUE. GROMYKO REJOINED THAT THE UK HAD FIRST DEMANDED A 100 KM ZONE, HAD UPPED IT TO 250 KM, AND NOW WANTS EVEN MORE. GARVEY SAID THAT SUCH CHANGES REFLECTED NOT ONLY THE POSITION OF THE UK BUT RATHER THE FACT AS WELL THAT THERE WERE 34 OTHER PARTICIPANTS IN THE CONFERENCE. COMMENT: MALLABY FELT THE GROMYKO ATTACK ON CBM'S PROBABLY HAD NO SIGNIFICANCE OTHER THAN AS TACTICAL NEGOTIATING PLOY.

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PAGE 03 MOSCOW 08434 171727Z

END COMMENT.

5. ON BILATERAL UK-SOVIET MATTERS, DISCUSSION WAS LIMITED TO A TOUR D'HORIZON ON UPCOMING OFFICIAL VISITS, WHICH ARE AS FOLLOWS:  
LATE JULY -- BILATERAL POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS AT THE UNDERSECRETARY LEVEL. JOHN THOMSON AND WEIR

WILL REPRESENT THE UK, PERHAPS ISRAELYAN THE USSR.

PLANNED TOPICS INCLUDE THE MIDDLE EAST, DISARMAMENT,  
GENERAL POLICY PLANNING, AND PERHAPS EAST ASIA.

AUGUST -- FOREIGN TRADE MINISTER PATOLICHEV WILL VISIT  
THE UK.

LATE FALL - YELYUTIN (MINISTER OF HIGHER EDUCATION) AND  
KOSTANDOV (MINISTER OF CHEMICAL INDUSTRY) TO THE UK.

LATE AUGUST -- POSSIBLE EXCHANGE OF SHIP VISITS.

SEPTEMBER -- FIRST ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION CALLED FOR IN  
WILSON-BREZHNEV AGREEMENT. SOVIETS WILL BE REPRESENTED  
BY INOZEMTSEV, HEAD OF INSTITUTE FOR WORLD ECONOMY  
AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, UK BY ANDREW SHONFIELD,  
HEAD OF ROYAL ACADEMY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

EARLY DECEMBER -- GROMYKO TO UK FOR FIRST ROUND OF  
CONSULTATIONS AT MINISTER LEVEL.

THERE WAS NO DISCUSSION, ACCORDING TO MALLABY, OF TIMING  
POSSIBLE BREZHNEV OR KOSYGIN VISITS TO UK.

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\*\*\* Current Handling Restrictions \*\*\* n/a

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